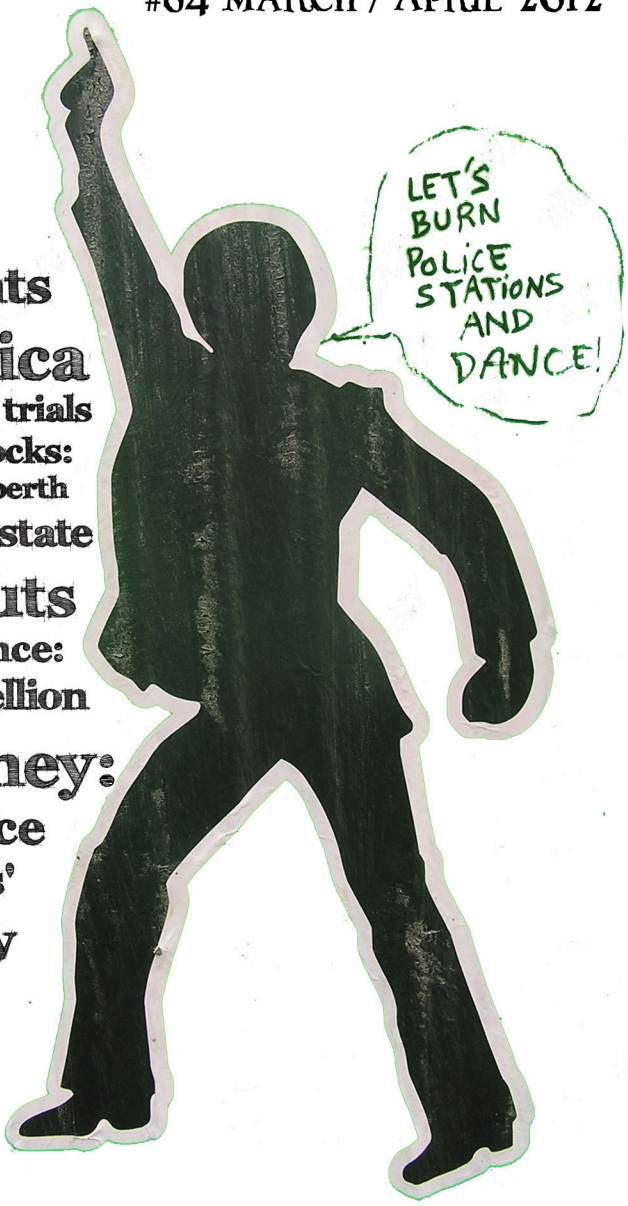
# MUTINY

A PAPER OF ANARCHISTIC IDEAS & ACTIONS
FREE
#64 MARCH / APRIL 2012

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## Sedition review

Hello and welcome to another edition of Mutiny Zine!

# Editorial

This edition comes to you for March and April, having skipped February (it's a short month anyway ...). We hope you can forgive us and enjoy this edition of the zine. We're excited to publish articles from Aotearoa, Brisbane, Melbourne, South Africa and Sydney. We hope this mixed bag presents a snapshot of different struggles that are interesting and relevant to you, our dear readers. From the port strike in Aotearoa to organising against job cuts at Sydney Uni and for access to housing in Brisbane, we think that organising around these 'bread and butter' issues gives us an opportunity to build class power while we chip away at oppressive institutions and conditions, improving our everyday lives through struggle. Our aim is for these articles on current workplace and housing struggles to deepen readers' understanding of these issues, and provide ideas and inspiration for comparable struggles that you are involved in.

Sydney Mardi Gras has come and gone, with comrades in Sydney organising a radical queer history event. Comrades in Melbourne respond to the presence of police in their Pride March with an analysis of the role of the police in perpetuating violence against queer and trans communities, and how a struggle for the safety of all queers must reject this sort of collaboration.

We believe that solidarity with those targeted by the state's repressive institutions is an essential part of radical organising. To this end, we report back on the lengthy court case endured by comrades in Aotearoa where verdicts have been reached but sentencing is still to occur. Another instance of repression is highlighted by an account of police harassment of an Occupy Sydney activist. However, republishing this information is only a tiny aspect of support and solidarity with these comrades. How can the zine better contribute to this?

Let us know, mutineers[at]graffiti.net
jura.org.au/mutiny

Editors for this month: Blackbeard, Syzygy, L Dog.

*The Mutiny Zine Collective does not necessarily agree with all the opinions of the contributors.*
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# Casualisation on the docks: a ship we all don't want to berth

One of New Zealand's largest port disputes in decades has been making headlines, and seen class lines in the country crystalise. Workers at the Ports of Auckland (members of the Maritime Union of New Zealand - MUNZ) have been taking stopwork strike action on and off since late 2011, which culminated with indefinite strike action in January. Solidarity actions soon spread nationally and internationally: Wellington, Tauranga and Lyttelton workers all threatened illegal strike action by refusing to unload 'black' cargo — cargo that had been worked on by non-unionised labour — before being forced to do so by the Employment Court, which issued injunctions with the possibility of financial consequences.

In response, the entire Auckland workforce (over 290 workers) were given the sack by Port's management — right before a planned march through the city. This move simply added fuel to the fire, and March 10 saw over 3,000 workers protest in the streets of Auckland (with international affiliates present). At the same time the Auckland strikers were supported by Port workers in Australia, who refused to unload black cargo in Sydney. There, and in Auckland, saw the emergence of community pickets at the docks — a handy way of side stepping the injunctions forced upon workers by the Employment Courts in both countries.

So what is the action about? Judging by the comments by both the public and the capitalist media, it seems the issue of casualisation is swamped by tirades against union strong-arming, the undeniable existence of a Protestant work ethic, or the strange case of workers blaming economic conditions on the Port workers, rather than capital: "Three hundred over paid, under worked, unskilled and ungrateful EMPLOYEES are going to hold New Zealand ports, businesses and public at ransom becasue during hard economic times they want more than the average Kiwi. SHAME!! "

Yet the strike, and the preceding boardroom struggle before it, is essentially about casualisation — that is to say, the imposition of capital into even more areas of our lives. In the name of 'flexibility' and 'efficiency' the Ports of Auckland want workers to be on call 24-7, working casualised hours without permanent rosters and the benefits they entail (this is partly tied to the Ports ownership by the Auckland City Council, who have pressed the Ports for a ridiculous increase in profitability). In plain language, the employers are seeking this: that workers will turn up on site as and when required with no guarantee of paid employment.

Now we all now when bosses talk about ‘flexibility’ and ‘efficiency’ it’s doublespeak for raised profits. It means an increase in unpaid labour time — that part of our labour that is beyond what is needed in terms of wages, or in terms of what we as workers produce. An increase in productivity means the bosses get more for less.

Instead, what the Port workers want — like most of us — is to have a life. A life that isn’t dominated by work, as opposed to a life where in order to survive we have to sell the biggest commodity of all — our labour-power. In protesting against casualisation, port workers are opening up a struggle against whether capital has the power to impose work on even more aspects of our already work-ridden lives.

That is why this struggle is an important one. The results of this struggle sets a precedent for working conditions across New Zealand, and as international supporters have pointed out, across the globe. In essence, this struggle is about hanging on to what little aspect of our lives that is not directly dominated by work. Casualisation on the docks, in what has traditionally been one of the more militant union sectors, does not end at the shore’s edge.

This struggle has begun to circulate, as is evident in the solidarity actions across various ports. However at the moment, the potential for this struggle to deepen has been limited by the reliance on legal forms. MUNZ and the affiliated unions lending support have stuck to legalist measures — court battles over injunctions, peacefully allowing scabs to pass through the community picket, appealing to a Labour-leaning Mayor for aid, and relying on a positive media perspective. Yet employment law and the motions of the court are far from neutral. For example, it took the employers a matter of hours to bring injunctions against the solidarity strike actions (which are already illegal under law, thanks to the Labour Party), yet the injunction taken by MUNZ took at least 2 weeks to be processed.

At the time of writing, MUNZ has won their injunction case before the Court — forcing the Ports of Auckland to hold off on contracting out their 292 jobs. Yet while the ink on the case was still wet, the Ports simply served a lockout notice on the workers they were forced to keep on. The result? More legal battles, and a temporary halt in action.

There is no doubt about what the consequences of a move beyond legal forms would be. The full weight of the state, as has happened throughout New Zealand's history, will be mobilised against the workers. Yet the prevailing mood, with a heightened sense of something being broken, has the potential to create new possibilities. Attacks on workers been dealt out across the board in New Zealand — the National Government and its cadre of employer chums have been putting the squeeze on care workers, meat workers (over 600 AFFCO meat workers are currently locked out across the North Island), early childhood workers, beneficiaries and solo mums, and more. The seeds of struggle are there.

These kind of struggles, especially ones around the further imposition of work into our lives, are things that almost all workers can relate too. Making the issue of casualisation clear, linking together the factional struggles that are currently isolated and sporadic — especially with a perspective that questions the extension of work (indeed, work itself) — could resonate widely. As anarchists, one of our main tasks should be the circulation of these struggles in order to build the collective counter-power so essential to social change. This involves concrete organising in our everyday lives, around the material needs and conditions they produce. Moral and legal arguments are futile —it's pretty obvious that many people inside or outside of radical communities share the sensibility that capitalism is fucked. People don't need another flyer in their pockets. Instead, making those links between our everyday experiences under capitalism — that is to say the imposition of work into all aspects of our lives, be it at the workplace, school, or in the kitchen — and struggles like the one occuring at the Ports of Auckland, is both more tangible and promising.

www.beyondresistance.wordpress.com

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BLOG

http://www.garagecollective.blogspot.com/

# NO PRIDE IN A POLICE STATE

*This following text appeared in a pamphlet created by Queering the Air, a new queer radio show on (Melbourne's) 3CR Radio 855am 3pm every Sunday, and The Abolition Collective, committed to creating safer communities without prisons or policing. It was distributed at the Pride March in Victoria and posted online in the lead-up to the Sydney Mardi Gras.*

## POLICE IN THIS PARADE DON'T MAKE US SAFE

The recent enthusiasm some LGBTI groups have shown for collaborating and aiding policing operations is disturbing considering the police's historical and ongoing targeting of people who are queer, trans, Indigenous, racialised, dis/abled, poor, and/or homeless. It was only in 1981 that homosexuality was decriminalised in Victoria. Yet today the PR unit in the Victoria Police convey a narrative of 'progress' that moves from the active persecution of queers under anti-sodomy laws only 30 years ago to the establishment of the 'Gay and Lesbian Liaison Officer' ('GLLO') unit over the past decade and the 'Prejudice Motivated Crime' (PMC) strategy released last year. These developments have come about, in part, through vocal queer criticism of longstanding police homophobia and discrimination. Some prominent LGBTI groups have received these initiatives as welcome reforms, disregarding the ways that queer and trans people continue to criminalised. To work towards safety for all queers and trans folk we need to tackle transphobia and homophobia at their roots.

## TRANSPHOBIA AND HOMOPHOBIA ISN'T JUST ABOUT INDIVIDUALS

LGBTI groups working collaboratively with the police focus on homophobic and transphobic violence and oppression in terms of individual behaviours and ignorance. Instead, we see transphobia and homophobia as structural issues. Queer and trans folks are more vulnerable to employment and housing discrimination than our straight peers, and almost a quarter of homeless youth are queer or trans. Dominant belief systems promote the ideas that queer and trans folks are worth less, are dangerous just by existing, that our identities are a lie, or that we need to be pressured or punished into acting straight. These ideas are widespread, often legally sanctioned and form part of the status quo. Approaches focusing on GLLOs and individual crimes won't get to the roots of queer and trans oppression.

## POLICE RACISM IS A QUEER ISSUE

The ongoing effects of colonialism displace and impoverish Aboriginal communities, making Aboriginal people vulnerable to racist street policing. As public spaces are increasingly privatised, people who lack wealth are over-policed and excluded. Recent reports show that African young people in Melbourne experience disproportionate police surveillance, harassment and violence on a daily basis. Police

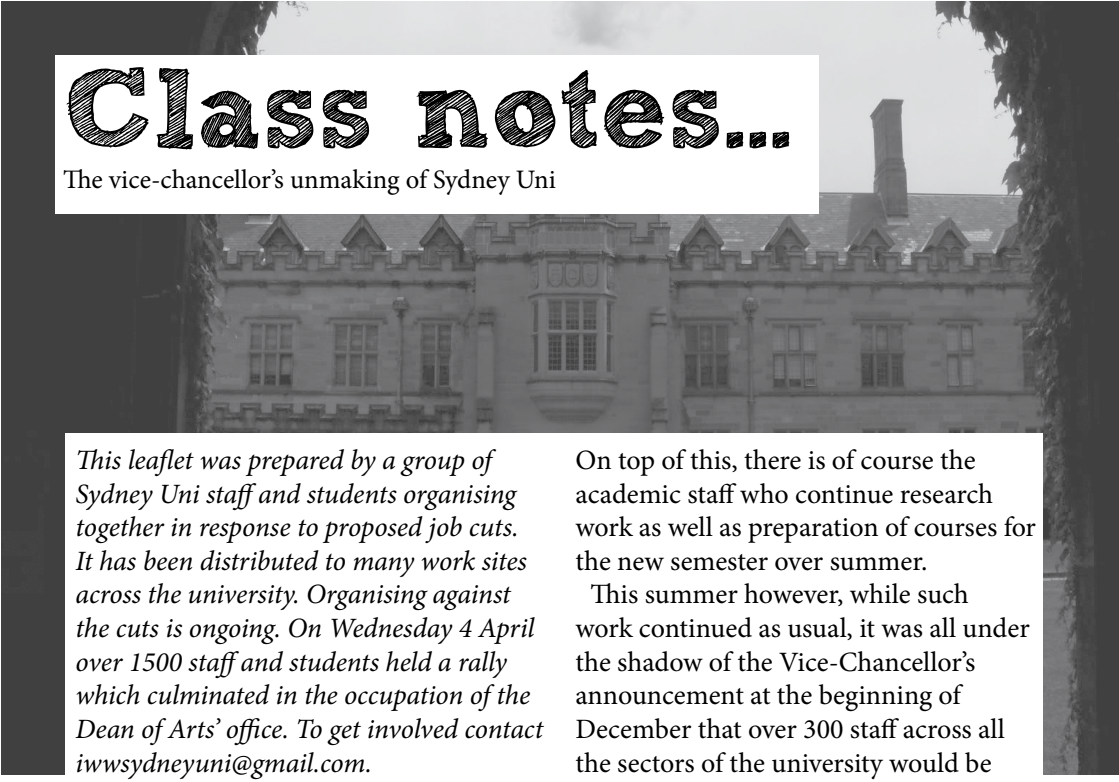
often use ethnic descriptors of perpetrators to target racialised communities and sections of the queer media perpetuate racist sentiments and stereotypes by describing the perceived ethnicity of perpetrators. This further fuels the myth that communities of colour are more homophobic than white communities. Queer and trans people are present in many different communities. Many queer and trans people are also poor, or Aboriginal, or migrants, or dis/abled. We must move beyond single-issue politics. Different forms of oppression - whether based on race, class, ability, gender or sexuality- cannot be neatly divided up or separated out. Our queerness and gender non-conformity aren't isolated from other aspects of our lives. Our presence in every community is our strength and that's been our rallying cry for decades.

## "STILL, AREN'T GLLOS BETTER THAN NOTHING?!"

Police GLLOs and the PMC strategy co-opt the fear and rage queer and trans people experience as targets of both state-administered and interpersonal violence. LGBTI collaborations with the police legitimise, strengthen and expand the reach of existing policing practices that focus on individual punishment and target poor and racialised communities. We can't let police initiatives couched in progressive rhetoric deflect our attention away from police brutality and a rapidly expanding criminal punishment system. Not in our name. We will not be complicit. As police collaboration remains at the top of many LGBTI agendas, the routine police harassment confronting queer Indigenous people, queers of colour, poor queers, and their communities, is silenced and ignored by mainstream gay organising. Collaborating with police excludes too many queers. If our goal is to create safer lives for all queer people then we need to tackle homophobia, transphobia, racism, sexism and ableism in all their forms.

## WE SUPPORT STRATEGIES THAT WEAKEN OPPRESSIVE INSTITUTIONS, NOT STRENGTHEN THEM

Today's Pride March is an international tradition that commemorates the Stonewall riots, an historical event catalysed by queers and transwomen of colour defending themselves against a transphobic, homophobic and racist bar raid by police. In order to honour this legacy, we're organising against state violence and multiple forms of oppression, continuing radical queer histories that span across borders. Instead of directing our energies towards creating alliances with the police we should build alternative solidarities that resist and refuse oppressive relations. By focusing on grassroots organising with other progressive community-based groups we can create social change from the ground up rather than relying on a "trickle down" effect. We can imagine more creative ways to open up discussions in our communities around intertwined issues of homophobia, transphobia, racism, poverty, sexism, ableism and how to address these on all levels. We can campaign for increased access to services and support for those most marginalised in queer communities - such as housing, healthcare, education and welfare. These approaches encourage more holistic and long-term visions of community safety for all queers and our allies. None of Us or All of Us. *Contact: abolitioncollective@gmail.com.*



# Class notes...

The vice-chancellor's unmaking of Sydney Uni

*This leaflet was prepared by a group of Sydney Uni staff and students organising together in response to proposed job cuts. It has been distributed to many work sites across the university. Organising against the cuts is ongoing. On Wednesday 4 April over 1500 staff and students held a rally which culminated in the occupation of the Dean of Arts' office. To get involved contact iwwsydneyuni@gmail.com.*

The beginnng of the university year, with students returning and classes beginning is a time when all parts of campus seem to swing into full gear. And while this is certainly the case in terms of undergraduate courses - which do provide the bulk of the student body - this appearance is not exactly the reality. For staff reading this, you will know that work continues even through the quieter summer months.

General staff in campus infrastructure continue to maintain and upgrade facilities, the libraries remain open with staff doing their best to ensure all is ready for the return of students, ground staff are still required to ensure the upkeep of the university, administration staff have to process a new round of enrolments. These are just a few examples of the variety of roles of general staff within Sydney Uni. On top of this, there is of course the academic staff who continue research work as well as preparation of courses for the new semester over summer.

This summer however, while such work continued as usual, it was all under the shadow of the Vice-Chancellor's announcement at the beginning of December that over 300 staff across all the sectors of the university would be losing their jobs in 2012.

There have been a variety of excuses and explanations that are meant to prove the necessity of these job cuts. However it is clear that these cuts represent a deep rooted and serious attempt to further transform the university into a well oiled business. The Vice Chancellor would like us to believe that the university is facing a serious financial shortfall, which means that job cuts are unavoidable. In fact there isn't a money shortage within the university, which is clear given that, for example, in 2010 the uni made $113.7 million in profit. Any shortfall is one relative to expectation, not a real loss. Further, it appears as though the cost of funding the redundancies were they to happen could be up to $45 million.

The focus on the ERA (Excellence in Research for Australia) of the university is another partial explanation. Cutting

academics with lower publication records would quickly improve the ERA of the university. This would look good for the VC and friends, by improving research output ratio on their watch. Still, this does not explain the cuts to general staff. What we are actually witnessing is an attack aiming to reshape the university, which cuts back on labour costs and undermines the learning experience of students.

The impact of these cuts, from the perspective of those who work at the university is the same: insecurity, job loss, work rate intensification. This means workers who remain are left to pick up the slack, working harder and quicker for the same pay, in worse conditions and with more pressure from bosses. And for those who study here, they will result in less of an education, and the uni becoming like a 'degree factory' - a more efficient one from the perspective of those who make their money from the work and study of the rest of us. This neoliberal vision for the university is one where departments compete for private research grants and staff compete in a two-tier workforce made up of a smaller core of permanent workers, supplemented by a pool of casualised staff.

So we have a situation where just a week before classes resume 100 academic staff received letters informing them that they would be made redundant. For general staff, the programme of redundancies will be followed through at a more localised, department-by-department level. Even before the specific details of the general staff cuts are announced, areas where general staff work such as the library and student services, have already been squeezed hard in response to pressure from university management to cut costs. Around 17 positions in Fisher Library (and up to 260 across the university) have become vacant, and management are choosing not to hire new staff to fill these positions.Worringly, this could mean cut backs occur out of sight from the rest of the university community.

These cuts are not only a 'workers issue', to be dealt with by professional workplace organisers. Nor are these cuts simply a 'student issue', to be dealt with by student politicians. The proposals to slash jobs, cut to the heart of a change in the orientation of the university that affects all of us who work and study here. The strongest response to the cuts will come from cooperative grassroots organising by staff and students working together, recognising that our best interests are also each others.

What we need to start asking is who gets to make the decisions about who has a job, who is 'performing', what the future of the university should look like, and how we go about getting there. If those of us who work the jobs that keep this place ticking over had their say, if those who go to class here had their say, there wouldn't be 350 people about to be out on their ear, not knowing where the money to pay bills, mortgages and rent will come from. We know what it takes to keep this place running and running well, and we know this because we are the ones who do it. We shouldn't hesitate to state this openly. The university could not run without those of us who work and study here, but it could very well run without those who are making these decisions to send hundreds of people into forced unemployment.

# No justice

*On Monday, October 15th 2007, more than 300 police carried out dawn raids on dozens of houses all over Aotearoa / New Zealand. Police claim the raids were in response to 'concrete terrorist threats' from indigenous activists. What initially started with 20 defendants went down to four: Taame, Emily, Rangi and Urs. Their trial began on February 12 this year.*

*Each of the four defendants is charged with one count of 'participation in an organised criminal group' and multiple charges of possession of weapons under Arms Act. The raids, arrests and subsequent prosecution are politically motivated. The case exemplifies the New Zealand state's fear of indigenous sovereignty, and its desire to repress social change. Abbreviated from http://october15thsolidarity.info/content/about-case. More detailed information about the case is available on this website.*

*(Following text taken from https://notafraidofruins.wordpress.com)*

I felt sick, so I went home in the afternoon and had a nap. When I woke up there were seven unread messages on my phone. The jury in the Urewera Four[i] trial had reached a verdict and it would be read out any minute now.

I sat in bed with my cellphone in one hand, the other hand hitting refresh on googlenews. The verdicts dripped in slowly.

First we heard that the jury was hung on count 1: the organised criminal gang charge. Then we heard that Urs was found guilty on five of the arms act charges, and the other three were each found guilty of six of the arms charges.

Finally we got to read the full breakdown:

COUNT 1 – Participation in an organised criminal group – JURY HUNG ON ALL DEFENDANTS
COUNT 2 – Arms Act (Nov 2006) – All not guilty
COUNT 3 – Arms Act (Jan 2007) – All guilty
COUNT 4 – Arms Act (April 2007) – All not guilty
COUNT 5 – Arms Act (June 2007) – Urs NOT guilty, others guilty
COUNT 6 – Arms Act (August 2007) – All not guilty
COUNT 7 – Arms Act (Molotov cocktails, Aug 2007) – All not guilty
COUNT 8 – Arms Act (Sept 2007) – All guilty
COUNT 9 – Arms Act (Molotov cocktails, Sept 2007) – All guilty
COUNT 10 – Arms Act (October 2007) – All guilty
COUNT 11 – Arms Act (Urs and Emily) – Guilty
COUNT 12 – Arms Act (Taame) – Guilty
COUNT 13 – Arms Act (Rangi) – Guilty

I guess this is a half victory. They've been acquitted of about half the arms charges.

There's a hung jury on the gang charges. There's something kind of abstract about a criminal conviction on its own—we won't know how horribly this will impact the lives of the defendants until the sentencing hearing on May 24. Then we'll know just how furious to be.

Ever since the raids on October 15 2007, it's been hard to talk about the case. While the accused were on remand I couldn't shake the feeling that people I cared about were being held to ransom in exchange for my silence. Speaking out in support of anarchism, of tino rangatiratanga, of revolution, seemed dangerous. Like it would make the people in prison look guilty by association.

I think it's important not to give in to the instinct to stay silent. The crown wants to scare us all into silence. When most of the population is too scared to articulate the desire for a better society—one free from the violence of colonisation and racism—the minority who do speak up look like terrorists. When criticism of the state is common, people are used to it. The first time you hear someone talk about tino rangatiratanga, they might sound dangerous and crazy. The tenth time you hear it, you might disagree with them, but the idea doesn't sound so shocking anymore, you're used to it. By the hundredth time you hear someone voice support for tino rangatiratanga, they're expressing an idea so widely held that no one would think to argue with it. After all, democracy was once a radical and controversial idea. So was gender equality. So was the abolition of slavery. Pushing the boundaries of acceptable discourse is an important part of social activism.

During the trial it was clear that the four weren't being tried for the things they were actually charged with doing. They were being tried for supporting te mana motuhake o Tūhoe. The crown's entire case hinged on convincing the jury (and the New Zealand public) that anyone who supports sovereignty for Tūhoe must be a danger to society. Emily, Rangi, Tāme and Urs aren't being punished for possessing illegal weapons or for organising a criminal group. They're being punished for having political opinions that undermine the legitimacy of the New Zealand state.

During the summing up part of the trial, the judge instructed the jury that, 'Maybe there are two worlds as [Tāme's lawyer] Mr Fairbrother has suggested but there is one law—the law that binds us all and under which you must reach your verdict.'

That's true. There is only one law in New Zealand and that is the coloniser's law. There could never be a fair trial. The New Zealand courts aren't an objective arbiter between the prosecution and the defendants. The courts are part of the same colonial system that the defendants are fighting against, the same system they were on trial for fighting against. I've heard people say that the charges are bullshit, but really it's the justice system that's bullshit.

There's no justice under colonialism. [i] Some have pointed out that the name 'Urewera Four' is inappropriate, since it implies an ancestral connection to Te Urewera that not all the defendants have. I've used 'Urewera Four' because that's what the capitalist media have been calling them, so it seems like the most recognisable name, but I do want to acknowledge that it's problematic.

# What a difference 90 minutes makes...

by Vicki Smart,
from http://peacockdreams.blog.com/

So I am pretty sure
we can all think of something
we have been late for.

That dinner,
that party,
that appointment
that may have been totally
forgotten
due to lost diary /
iPhone /
insert own way of managing
calendar here.

It however becomes
a totally different situation
when that 90 minutes
costs you
a night of your freedom
and exposes you
to a whole new level of
degradation.

This post is long. Its just my personal account of my Friday night because I think its important for people to know how our police force, those who many people choose to put blind faith in, act.

To explain the back story: I am currently subject to draconian bail conditions based on an Occupy Sydney action related to Greece. We protested, art was mistaken for something dangerous, NSW Police overreacted in glorious technicolour. Part of said bail conditions are me reporting to the police twice a week.

On Friday, after spending pretty much the whole day between bed and sofa, with one outing to purchase a DVD to entertain my addled brain (True Blood is good for that) I was about to pass out for the 1000th time at 11pm when I suddenly had a realisation of 'oh crap'. My reporting time ends at 10pm, I had missed it. After chucking on a pair of jeans, my glasses and literally speeding down King Street to Newtown police station I arrived around 11.30pm. Out of breath I tried my best to explain the situation of why I was late to a highly unsympathetic officer who I could pretty much tell didn't care right from the get go. After 15 minutes or so of ominous waiting, I was placed under arrest for breaching my bail.

So at midnight I am taken downstairs into the docks, where processing begins. It's clearly a slow night, as my only company is an older man who doesn't seem to mind the fact he's been arrested. he is being let out as I am being brought in and it becomes clear that maybe someone needed to bump up their arrest quota. So after an hour or so sitting on a freezing cold metal bench I am packed off to a holding cell for the night. Oh and the light doesn't turn off. Joy. Did I mention I had been in bed sick all day? Just checking…

So after about an hour of drifting in and out of consciousness I am awoken by the screams of someone being brought into the docks. I couldn't see him at this stage but I could certainly hear him. His abuse of the arresting police was artistic but under my current conditions I wasn't in a state to fully appreciate it and I spent the next half an hour hoping he shut the hell up because buddy, some of us are trying to sleep here. This is where it starts to get interesting by the way, so thanks for staying with me so far.

Angry Drunk Guy (or ADG as I will refer to him from now on) is now brought back to the holding cell next to mine. Yup. He's hammered, screaming at the tops of his lungs, kicking the door, the walls, the cops are screaming, and something inside me snaps. Its now that I turn into a total girl and start crying. Yes I know, not particularly hardcore but by now (guessing 2am) I was exhausted, sick, tired etc. The crying gives way to mild hyperventilation which after about five minutes turns into full blown panic attack. I have luckily avoided these since I was a kid but right now, it's all coming back to me at alarming speed. Everything goes white, and I have to sit on the floor with my head between my knees to even attempt to breathe.

Its worth noting that this feels like it goes on for about 14 days. At one stage I hear one of the cops telling ADG to please be quiet because its upsetting the girl in the next cell. Thanks for the concern boys but maybe checking on me could have been an option here. Now correct me if I am wrong but I am pretty sure that the cells have cameras in them. I have to ask why they allowed me to continue like this unchecked for at least 10 minutes. But this is just the first utter fuck up by the NSW Police that I will be talking about. Brace yourself, it gets worse.

So just as I manage to get myself breathing, and try to go back to sleep (AGD has passed out by this point thankfully) Newtown's finest decide that now is the time to move me to Surry Hills. So half asleep and pretty wiped out I am taken back into the fluorescent box of the dock to wait for transport. Its freezing so I ask for a blanket to be told no because I am going in five minutes. Forty minutes later I am taken to a van and driven to Surry Hills. Its around 4am.

Arriving at Surry Hills I am taken inside to be processed where I encounter the hero of this story. The one cop who is actually pleasant and sympathetic. Upon being asked what I did to get arrested, I tell him I reported an hour and half late. He replies with a 'you're joking' so heavily tainted with annoyance that I am quick to understand that finally, [here is] someone with some humanity. He proceeds to get me into my cell as quickly as possible so I can get some sleep (its about 4.30am by now). He also tells me that I could

have been asked to produce a medical certificate rather than being arrested. Apparently its at the discretion of the officer. Interesting.

Finally, I think, I manage to pass out in a freezing cold, over air-conditioned, noisy box hiding under a pile of utterly rubbish 'blankets' which are covered in holes, using my jumper as a pillow.

I am rudely awoken after probably an hour by fluorescent lights going on (what is it with cops and their obsession with flouro? Did they not get the memo about mood lighting!?) and I again silently thank the cop from the night before for grabbing me a shit load of fruit (as a vegan I am unable to eat anything I am offered in the way of 'food' and I use inverted commas seriously. I am pretty sure that dogs would turn their noses up at this crap let alone those of us who choose an ethical diet which harms no living being). The wait begins for my legal aid call to discuss my bail hearing later this morning. I think its about 7am by this point.

Now male readers apologies for the next bit, because a) you won't be able to identify with the truest nature of the wrongness and b) its eugh. To make matters worse it's that special time of the month where as well as wanting to kill people you require certain items to enable yourself to be comfortable. I had made sure that I was able to bring a box of tampons from my stuff (they kept my bag at Newtown) but now this morning, the charming (female I may add) officer tells me they are unable to open property. Now this causes a problem. The items they are able to give me are no use for varying reasons too personal to go into here which basically leaves me utterly fucked. I am told by the female officer they aren't a hotel (really? there was me thinking I had checked into the Hilton in my sleep, I HATE it when I do that). I am told that I can't have a shower because as a male prison they don't have the facility for women (here's a suggestion for that one: don't hold women there. Problem solved, next) so it's safe to say that by the time I am called to speak to Legal Aid I am feeling decidedly sub-par.

Legal Aid and actually appearing via videolink to Parramatta bail court takes all of an hour from start to finish, and is probably the bit of the day I feel the most normal as I am out of solitary confinement and able to walk about a bit. Speaking to the other 7 people (all male) who are up for bail breaches I am heartbroken to hear the story of the guy in after me. His failing? Calling his son to wish him happy birthday. Ladies and gentlemen, our police force. Clap clap etc.

"I overhear two officers talking about how the Australian prison system would be better if they 'didn't have to adhere to the UN and shit.'"

I am refused a phone call. I overhear two officers talking about how the Australian prison system would be better if, and I quote, 'they didn't have to adhere to the UN and shit.' I am again put back in my box and held for a further four hours or so (after my bail has been continued, no changes, this took the magistrate all of 45 seconds to approve FYI).

At around 1pm I am roused (having passed out finally for an hour or so) and let go. Papers are signed, personal property is returned and with one last dig about me not being late again I am out. I nearly cry again when I see the four people waiting outside for me, Occupy Sydney does arrest solidarity so well we should bottle it and sell it to other Occupy sites. I can't begin to express how amazing it is to come out after 14 hours or whatever and see friendly faces, read your twitter and FB feed and just read pure love from those who have been there themselves, those who understand, those who also see the system for what it is: a time wasting, bullying, prisoner-grooming hamster wheel which once you fall into won't let you out without a damn hard fight.

So, next time you are running late for something and it feels like the end of the world, ask yourself: what will the consequence be? The cold shoulder from a loved one, the anger of a friend, or the wrath of a police officer which through their poor judgement ends up robbing you of your liberty for just over half a day. Ask yourself why we give these people this kind of power over anyone, what happened to innocent until proven guilty? Because right now Australia, we live in what's fast becoming a police state. And this my friends is why we #occupy.

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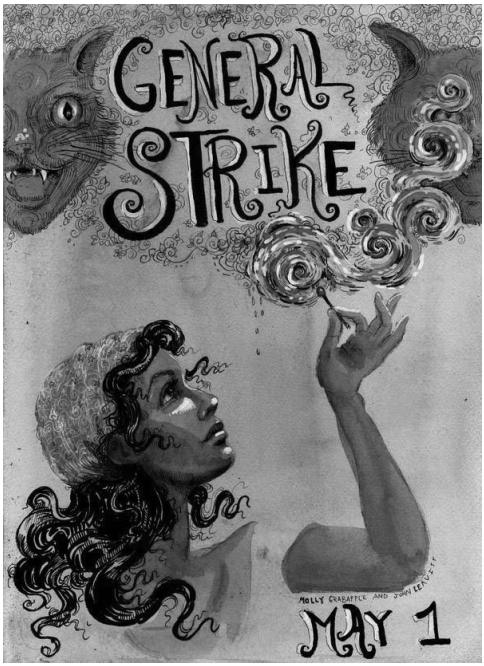


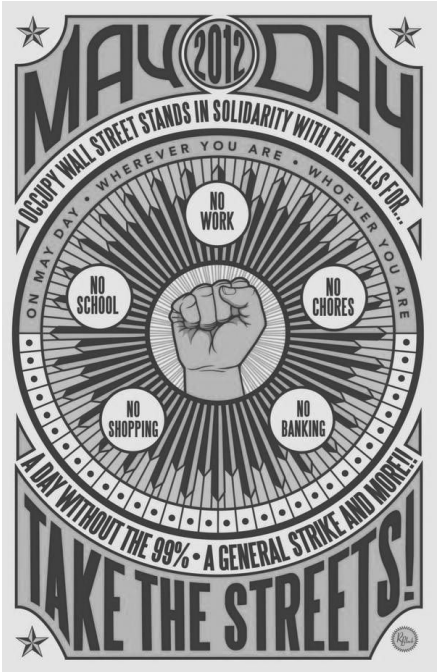
MAY 2012 DAY
OCCUPY WALL STREET STANDS IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE CALLS FOR...
ON MAY DAY • WHEREVER YOU ARE • WHOEVER YOU ARE
NO WORK
NO SCHOOL
NO CHORES
NO SHOPPING
NO BANKING
A DAY WITHOUT THE 99% • A GENERAL STRIKE AND MORE!!!
TAKE THE STREETS!

# Youth prisons in France: repression and rebellion

Like in every state in the world, France practices repression and incarceration to maintain social and economic order. In these last years, the French state's general tendency is to incarcerate more and more people, younger and younger... So, more rooms in prisons are built, and new establishments to incarcerate people under 18 are built too.

Last November, some comrades were jailed in Toulouse (south of France), accused of having vandalized youth prison administration offices. This is the occasion to give some information about the struggle against youth prisons in France, inside and outside their walls.

## What are the youth-prisons in France ?

The French youth detention centres are called 'établissements pénitentiaires pour mineurs' (E.P.M., penitentiary establishments for minors). They are prisons for young people aged between 13 and 18 years old.

Built after the Justice reform voted in on September 2002 (Loi d'orientation et de programmation pour la Justice du 9 septembre 2002, called 'loi Perben I'), the first EPMs started in 2007-2008 in the cities of Lyon, Valenciennes, Meaux and Mantes-la-Jolie (near Paris), Toulouse, Nantes and Marseille. All of these seven centres have a capacity of about 60 prisoners.

They were created to replace the youth-sections of the French prisons and are supposed to be another option to the forty-four 'centres éducatifs fermés' (closed educative centres), created at the same time, where the young people incarcerated are considered a bit less like prisoners (there's no individual cells, contrary to the EPMs).

They were also created to make more rooms for young prisoners, which leaves open the possibility to create more young prisoners. These EPMs work with educators employed by the 'Protection judiciaire de la Jeunesse' (P.J.J., youth's judiciary protection).

According to the state, the EPMs mix 'active security' (social control and guards' surveillance) and 'passive security' (6 metre walls all around, videosurveillance) like any prison, with special punishment/isolation cells. The main difference between the EPMs and 'normal' prisons is during the day, the minors get lessons, a bit like at school.

## A brief history of the repression against young delinquents in France

Before 1810, it seems like there was no legal difference between adults and minors. Then, around 1810, people under 16 were legally considered differently. In the prisons, special sections for minors were created, for the adults and

the minors would not be incarcerated together. This was generalized around 1820.

In the 1830's, the idea of putting minors to work (for 'learning') was spreading, which seemed to be better than incarceration. In 1836, a youth-prison was created in Paris, for minors between 7 and 16 years old. They were incarcerated in the night, and worked during the day (and received moral and religious education). Good mix, hmm?

In the 1840's and 1850's, some work and penitentiary colonies for young people were created. Some of them remained open until the 1970's!

Under the Third Republic, from the 1870's to 1930's, minors under 13 go no longer faced legal possibilities of incarceration and punishment.

In 1912, tribunals for children were created. After the Second World War, with the creation of the Fourth Republic, the French state made legal considerations about minors more precise, but nothing important really changed.

In the 1980's, the French Left were in power for the first time in the history of the Fifth Republic (since 1958), and their 'social state' brought more social control upon education, culture, urbanism, and law in general. While talking about 'prevention', they brought new tools of control and repression, like local contracts of security, police of proximity, police interventions in schools, etc. Then, education became more and more linked with the ideas and practices of control and punishment.

As in almost all the countries across the world, it got even worse with the post-September 11 war against terrorism. Lots of new security laws were carried by the right-wing governments, following other security laws voted in the 1990's by left-wing governments.

Today, minors under 13 can't be incarcerated. Minors between 13 and 16 can be condemned and incarcerated, but with a maximum of half the length of the adult sentences. For those between 16 and 18, they can be condemned to the same sentences, with the theoretical possible excuse of the age.

## Some critiques of the EPMs

Since the very beginning of the project of the EPMs they were criticized from many points of view. Calls to close down these detention centers were made from the first day of the project, and are growing in these last months: because of some suicides of young people in those centres, because of some mutinies in different centres (and because of the presence of the 'Equipes Régionales d'Intervention et de Sécurité' (ERIS)- Security and Intervention Regional Teams – riot-police forces specialized in the prison interventions) and because of educators' strikes.

Among the critiques:

- Of course, the struggle against all prisons, including the youth-prisons, with anarchist perspectives.
- The youth-sections in the 'normal' prisons were supposed to disappear with the creation of the EPMs, but they did not. Promises, promises, as usual.
- The creation of the seven EPMs cost more than 90 million Euros. This money could have been used in a better way, for education, prevention, etc.

*Destroy all prisons- a remedy to nothing!*

- In the 1970's, other youth detention centres (called at the time 'correction and education centres') were closed because of controversies concerning the incarceration of young people and how being imprisoned affects them. These new centres could be closed again.

## A Non-exhaustive chronology of the struggle against youth prisons in France.

Since 2005, many demonstrations, gatherings, occupations and other direct actions have occurred in France against the EPMs.

- First, in Toulouse, a collective including different leftist organizations demands more money for education and starts a petition against the EPMs. Afterwards, most of the actions outside the EPM walls were made by anarchist/autonomous collectives.
- In February 2006, near Nantes, an EPM construction site is occupied by 60/70 persons, who live on the ground and in the trees, stopping the workers until the eviction by the special forces of the French police five days later.
- The same week, many direct actions occur in and around Nantes. Texts were distributed widely, banners were dropped, posters and spray-painted slogans put on the walls, another construction site occupied in the city (of the same company that builds the youth-prisons) and a small demonstration went on front of the detention centre for migrants.

- The week after, sabotage actions take place on the main construction site and on the doors of the offices of the PJJ (which administrates the anti-youth repression).
- March 25th 2006, near Toulouse, a carnival demonstration happens, like every year. A part of the carnival shouts anti-EPM slogans, and when the carnival goes near the EPM construction site, around 200 persons leave the carnival and go in front of it, some of them break the fences, sabotage the construction site and destroy some stuff inside, before coming back to the carnival.
- March 24th 2007, in Porcheville (Mantes-la-Jolie), near Paris, a public gathering of 50 persons in front of a construction site takes place, with many cops to survey them.
- May 2007, many anti-EPM slogans are spray-painted on the walls of the Town Hall and in the streets of Porcheville, near Paris, where an EPM is gonna start in the next months.
- June 11th 2007, on the first day of the Toulouse EPM, educators go on strike for better conditions of work (more material means and more money)
- June 15th 2007, slogans are spray-painted on the walls of different schools near Toulouse. Some schools have their doors 'closed' in the night... Opening of a new prison... Schools are closed...
- June 2007, the Lyon EPM opens and educators go on strike for better conditions of work. And a few days later, there's already a mutiny inside... the ERIS intervene, for only four mutineers!
- June 30th 2007, gathering in front of the future EPM of Porcheville, near Paris.
- July 5th 2007, arson attack on the Meaux' EPM construction site, near Paris
- July 7th and 8th 2007, mutiny at the Toulouse EPM.
- February 2008, two prisoners escape from the Marseille EPM.
- Beginning of February 2008, suicide at the Lyon EPM (in 2007, there was no suicide in the EPM and minors' prison sections, but at least 72 suicide attempts...).
- February 9th 2008, demonstration in front of the Lyon's EPM (a few days after the Lyon prisoner's death).
- October 2008, suicide at the minors' section in the prison of Metz.
- November 2008, the Toulouse EPM's director receives a pie in the face during a 'prison national day' conference.
- March 2009, suicide at the minors' section of the Moulins-Yzeure prison, in the centre of France.
- June 2009, one prisoner escapes from Toulouse EPM.
- February 2010, suicide at the Nantes EPM.
- March 2010, one prisoner escapes from Toulouse EPM.
- April 2010, educators' strike in the Toulouse EPM.
- December 2010, suicide at the minors' section of the Tours prison.
- April 2011, educators' strike in almost all of the French EPMs.
- April 12th 2011, an educator is taken in hostage by a prisoner who tries to escape, at the Lyon EPM.

- May 7th and 8th 2011, almost all prisoners take part in a mutiny at the Toulouse EPM,. At least seven fires are started. ERIS intervene.
- May 2011, attempts to escape at the Toulouse and Marseille EPM.
- May 2011, educators and guards' strike at the Marseille EPM, for better conditions of work.
- May 16th 2011, a cell is vandalized by a prisoner in the Toulouse EPM. The same day, security guards go on strike, the trade unions call for a blockade of the EPM, for more security and better conditions of work for the guards, and more control over the prisoners.
- June 2011, educators' strike at the Toulouse and Marseille EPMs, about their conditions of work.
- July 5th 2011, near Toulouse, PJJ offices are vandalised. Shit and chemical products are put on the floor and on the computers. Anti-EPM slogans are spray-painted and a communique left in the offices
- November 15th 2011, some squats and rented houses are raided by the cops, who arrest fifteen persons. Five of them are accused of having participated to the July 5th action against PJJ offices, they are jailed while waiting for their trial to come (except one person who is outside on judiciary control).
- November 16th 2011, gathering in front of the Toulouse tribunal, behind a banner 'Death to the cops', in solidarity with the Toulouse prisoners.
- December 2011, banners are dropped in Toulouse, slogans spray-painted in Montpellier, in solidarity with the Toulouse prisoners.
- Mid-december, in Grenoble, PJJ cars are trashed and PJJ office doors are blocked.
- December 16th and 17th 2011, demonstration in Toulouse (300 persons) and Paris (30 people in a wild demonstration), as well as gatherings in Lyon, Poitiers and Bordeaux, in solidarity with the Toulouse prisoners.
- December 22th 2011, gathering in Paris, in solidarity with the Toulouse prisoners, against prisons in general.
- December 31st 2011, fireworks and sound-system demonstration in front of the Nantes' EPM in solidarity with the prisoners.
- And many other fights engaging prisoners against educators and guards, cells being vandalized, attempts to escape, etc.
- 2012, the struggle continues.

*Victor Tuva, January 2012*

For more information about solidarity with Toulouse's prisoners (translations availaible): http://pourlaliberte.noblogs.org/

*NB : in February 2012, all of the comrades emprisoned in Toulouse (from the PJJ action) are freed from jail, under judiciary control.*

# Amandla! Ngawethu!

## By Jeremy

*Disclaimer: These are some impressions of life, politics and social movements in South Africa (and to a lesser extent Namibia, which shares many of the same historical and social conditions). My ideas are based on a few weeks of travel, and some limited participation as an Australian outsider in political actions. For much better analysis, check out zabalaza.net - a great resource of anarchist news and analysis from South Africa.*

South Africa is a land of extremes. There is the extravagant wealth of the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, where (mostly) white people live in massive houses with manicured gardens, behind 2 metre walls topped with electrified barbed wire. Their cooking, cleaning, gardening and child-raising are done by black people, in a culture of servitude which would strike most Australians as shocking or bizarre.

The rich elite drive their BMWs with the windows up and the doors locked, in fear. They socialise in gated communities and shopping centres that are many times more opulent than Westfield Bondi Junction.

A few kilometres away are townships and squatter camps. The townships were the black-only areas under apartheid where poverty and overcrowding are still the norm. Many people here can't afford houses, electricity or water - even if they are available. If available, electricity (and sometimes water) are pre-pay only.

There are vast areas of informal settlements where tens of thousands of people live in tin shacks or other makeshift structures, and are sometimes violently evicted by the government. Power lines and water pipes bypass the settlements and run to nearby jails, uranium mines, and factories. There are poor and unemployed whites living in some of these camps, but the majority are blacks and people of colour.

This sort of class hierarchy exists in many places in the world (including Australia), but in Southern Africa it is sharper and more obvious to everyone. A black maid will travel straight from her village or township where the children don't have proper housing, light or books, to a mansion where she cares for white children who have every luxury imaginable. I spoke with one woman who has been doing this for 30 years - during and after apartheid. She said 'things haven't changed.'

**'The leaders will now enjoy the champagne, and of course they do so on your behalf through their lips'**

Economic inequality has actually increased since 1994, both between races and within races. Although the ruling class now includes some people from every race, the large majority of private capital remains white-owned, and there is a persistence of racist ideology.

But a much more important feature of South African society is that everyone here understands struggle. Apartheid was overthrown 16 years ago by a truly powerful social movement. Workers went on strike, students boycotted school. People fought the militarised police force in the streets, and made the society ungovernable. They made a real political (if not economic) change, and they remember how.

This history is contested. The new rulers want to confine struggle to the past. The ANC - the ruling party - lays claim to leading or in fact being this movement.

Many people fall for this lie, and hold their leaders in awe. However cracks are showing in the facade. People express anger at the corruption and 'broken promises' of the politicians. Some turn to the growing semi-fascist tendency within the ANC, but others have turned away from the party altogether. Recently the ANC spent the equivalent of A$12 million to celebrate its 100th anniversary. The Deputy President proposed a toast and told the audience that if they did not have champagne, they could take photographs of their leaders drinking, or raise clenched fists. 'The leaders will now enjoy the champagne, and of course they do so on your behalf through their lips' he said.

Neoliberal capitalism is the model favoured by the ruling elite. People pre-pay for basic services, unemployment has skyrocketed, and poverty reigns, while at the same time, corporations are given handouts and the government attempts to crush dissent. Some sections of the

mainstream left (such as the South African Communist Party (and the leadership of the Congress of South African Trade Unions) are complicit in this project, with or without the fig leaf of some form of marxist-leninist ideology of 'development before revolution'.

In this context, a range of radical social movements have blossomed. With their roots in the anti-apartheid struggle, these movements have fought for basic rights, houses, services. The things their leaders have been promising since 1994. These movements are strong and very much based in the grassroots of communities around the country. From Durban to Cape Town, squatters have occupied unused land and taken over houses that corrupt officials have promised to their mates. They have fought the privatisation of land, water and electricity. A great account of the Symphony Way occupation written by the squatters themselves is available at Jura Books. It's called 'No land! No house! No vote!' - meaning that the squatters refuse to vote for anyone until they have houses. Some trade unions have also broken away from the ruling party alliance and set out on a more radical democratic path.

I spoke to a few comrades from Zabalaza - an active anarchist group based primarily in Johannesburg. They are involved in a range of movements and have been running an education project with numerous grassroots activists from around the region. The participants in this project come together to talk about their struggles and anarchist politics. They go away able to have similar discussions with comrades in their communities. Zabalaza pays for their travel costs. The Zabalaza comrades felt that struggle in South Africa is in a down-turn at present - compared to a peak a few years ago. To me, based on the actions I went to and the activists I met, the level of consciousness and the militancy of the struggle are many times greater than in Australia.

The politics around climate change is quite different to Australia. There is less of the liberal 'we have to care for the environment' attitude, and more of a 'water, land and electricity are fundamental to our lives' approach. The politics of climate justice appeared to me to be the strongest current within the movement. People seem to really care about renewable energy and are willing to fight for it - in conjunction with winning basic rights.

Many villages I saw in the countryside had a solar panel or two, simply because the infrastructure for fossil-fuel electricity doesn't exist, or is preserved by cost for corporate use. Of course the flipside is that the rulers are able to use people's need for electricity to justify building massive new coal-fired power plants, expanding the nuclear industry, and undermining the climate movement.

In Durban, outside the COP17 climate polluters conference, 10,000 people marched (and sang and danced) for climate justice. It was easily the largest, most working-class, most colourful, angry and hopeful climate action I've ever participated in. The crowd was overwhelming poor people from around South Africa, who are angry about climate change and the issues I've described above. They understand that the planet is being killed, and that it's the ruling class who

are killing it. They are proposing fair and class-conscious solutions, like publicly controlled renewable energy. The march was mostly organised into contingents of particular organisations. Some of these organisations were unions, others were community-based. The organisations paid for buses and trains to bring the activists in from their communities around the country - otherwise they wouldn't have been able to attend. Perhaps we should think more about this as a way to involve working-class and marginalised communities in Australia?

Policing of the march seemed to me to be much less intense than it would be for similar actions in Australia. However other 'illegal' actions in South Africa have been smashed ruthlessly by the cops, including the use of rubber coated bullets to evict squatters. There was a small scuffle on the march when some people from the ANC youth league attacked some other demonstrators because of the latter's anti-governmnent chants.

At the 'people's space' in the days preceding the march, a range of forums and workshops were held. I went to well-attended forums on eco-socialism, climate jobs, and renewable energy models. The conference as a whole was not very well-organised, but many of the forums and workshops (for which individual organisations took responsibility) were good. People started each discussion with traditional militant singing and dancing. The chorus of one popular song is 'My mother was a kitchen girl, my father was a garden boy, that's why I'm a socialist.' Another well known call is Amandla!' meaning 'the power!' - to which everyone responds 'Ngawethu!' - 'is ours!'

One major failing of the people's space forums was that too many of the speakers were white, middle-class academics, many from overseas - which meant that the voices of black community activists (the majority of the audience) were not heard often enough. This point was raised by some of those activists. There was an interesting moment when one of the forums erupted into a full scale revolt because the (mostly white, middle-class) leadership of the organisation had failed to consult with the membership about food, accommodation and the programme in general. The membership would not allow the forum to continue until their grievances were addressed.

This is symptomatic of a wider problem in social movements in South Africa (and elsewhere), where authoritarian socialist leaderships seek to impose their ideas on the rank and file.

If mass working-class organisations around the world are going to fight effectively for climate justice, the people themselves need to take ownership of those organisations. I believe this is a real possibility in South Africa. We can all learn from the militancy, consciousness, involvement of the poor, and vibrant musical traditions of South African movements.

# Collective Report

What's now known as Brisbane Solidarity Network started a little over two - three years back as an attempt to bring together some of the anarchist/syndicalist/libertarian-communist types scattered across Brisbane and Ipswich, and includes ex-members of BASTARD and the Direct Action Collective. Our website says that our aim is not to be a self-serving organisation, but rather to contribute towards opening spaces for self-education, self-organisation, ideas for struggle and a rebellious culture free of dogma– ie: a non-hierarchical, anti-authoritarian solidarity movement.

To set the scene, despite Brisbane's strong libertarian history with groups such as the Self-Management Group and the Libertarian-Socialist Organisation there is very little historical memory that has been passed on. Brisbane was also home to a number of radical social centres (Ahimsa House/Black & Green Bookshop/Kropotkin's Books/Red&Black etc) which have all but disappeared. Having said that there have been some notable events in the past year, including the 100th Anniversary of the CNT film screening and Anarchist Age's 'Eureka Award' which brought together many ex-SMG members.

In our eyes we're still developing our foundations and we've moved along very slowly. We're also struggling to develop in a way that doesn't separate our political activity from our everyday lives. We've mostly acted as a propaganda group and try to distro most of the libertarian-type papers across Australia, as well as put on film nights, fundraisers (recently for the Musgrave park sovereign embassy) and have a reading group and regular stalls featuring books, dvds etc on workplace/community organising, decolonisation, history etc which have been well received.

As well as isolated attempts at organising in our own workplaces and localities, as a group we've jumped on the Solidarity Network bandwagon as one attempt to go beyond propaganda and towards some sort of relevant practice. During this time we put together a paper (From Below) which looks at solidarity networks. We've had a few attempts so far at organising in this way – the latest being the occupation of a house set to be repossessed by ANZ and a demand delivery against a dodgy landlord. We're still in the process of drawing on the failures and successes of these.

One thing that plagues groups in Australia is a feeling of isolation from each other. In light of this we're trying to connect more with other groups across Oceania – a few of us have visited the Philippines and linked up with Etniko Bandido, and some of us got to meet the great folks at Jura and Black Rose late last year. At present there are a lot of great things developing under the surface in Brisbane, including the 'Assembly for Dignity' group (demystifying the welfare changes) and the slow formation and call out for a Brisbane Workers' Assembly. Thanks to Mutiny crew. If anyone reading this heads up to Brisbane feel free to get in touch. Contact us at bsn@riseup.net.

Sedition
A Journal of Australian Anarchist Thought

# REVIEW BY PRINCESS MOB

From what I understand, the primary aim of Sedition was its process. It was begun as a way for three somewhat politically similar collectives in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide to learn how to work together and to develop their relationships. I hope the process was good, because as a reader I found Sedition disappointing.

The project has potential. Most of us in Sydney know next to nothing about what's happening in Adelaide, for example. A publication edited from different cities could be a way for people from different places to find out what's happening elsewhere, but that doesn't happen in this edition. An editorial collective with a defined political commonality could explore political ideas with more depth, but that isn't the case either. The articles tend to be short and basic. Rather than seeking out or choosing articles for relevance or quality, the ground for selection was solely whether the writer was a member of a constituent group. The mixed results perhaps shows a weakness of this membership-based model.

Overall, the zine lacks spark and passion. I get the feeling that the contributors were generally so busy convincing someone (themselves?) that anarchism is a Serious Political Business that they lost any sense of the dynamism of the ideas and the complexities of practice. It also reads like many writers simply used what seem like the Right Words for a Political Article without using them to communicate a meaning. 'Democracy', for example, is used in nearly every article without critique or question, and a number of writers talk about 'community', which is possibly the most over-used and meaningless concept around. This way of writing is flawed in both style and politics: it's hard to work out what people really mean.

The mix of articles makes it hard to work out who the intended audience is. Articles vary from the unfunny in-joke of 'Things anarchists like' to a very introductory article on the Zapatistas. Brendan Libertad's article on the philosophical origins of anarchism is a partisan argument disguised as a neutral history. Gabs's article on casualisation is a worthy attempt to analyse current conditions. It's basic and factual, with some examples of recent resistance, but ends without suggestions other than joining a trade union. I'm not saying that anarchists should have a purist position against trade union membership, but to promote the unions without any critique suggests a lack of hope.

Similarly, Jeremy's article on 'Organising in Australia' critiques the unions as 'a sort of specialised business within capitalism' but suggests that we join and 'democratise' them. This article also defines 'organisation' in such a positive way ('a relationship of solidarity, mutual aid, and common purpose') that any anarchist would agree with it, then removes any distinction between 'organisation/organising' as a verb (or process) and 'an/the organisation' as a noun (or institution). I also think that Jeremy can well be proud of all the hard

work he and others have done distributing anarchist material and publicising Jura, but I don't think that this outreach is really 'organising', even by his own definition. The article would also be stronger if it analysed the effects of all of this work, rather than simply listing the number of posters put up.

While far too brief for what it is trying to do, Katrina's article on intersectionality is worthwhile for its attempts to relate anarchism/anarcha-feminism to other feminist currents in a way that recognises their parallels without ignoring their differences. It's rare for anarchists to engage like this, and it's good. It also asks good questions, like: how do we have a politics that's about our own lives, not some external 'cause', without reducing it to lifestyle choices? However, 'classism' is a weird word. As the article says, the different forms of hierarchy and oppression that exist are not the same, but the term 'classism' suggests an attempt to think about class society in the same way as we think about racism or sexism. Sure, we can talk about the problem of snobbery, and about how groups of people are looked down on or dismissed because they're 'bogans' or 'westies' or whatever. But class can't be reduced to a culture, a matter of identity. The problem of class is that all of us (bogans and inner-city wankers alike) have no control over the wealth that we create: that we have our time and our potential stolen from us. We don't want to overcome classism: we want to destroy class society.

The article on Occupy Sydney, which tries to justify the camp in response to what's been said about it in the media, makes politically confused claims on behalf of the camp, such as 'what are we asking for? Just that the authorities tolerate a few hundred or so citizens occupying a few dozen square metres of their own city.' I would hope that Occupy actually wanted more than to be tolerated by authorities, and that it didn't seek legitimacy on the grounds that its participants were 'citizens'.

Nick A's article on interacting with the media does a reasonable job of summarising both sides of some recent arguments about anarchist practice, and it's always fun to compare Athens (where the argument is about whether or not to storm to tv station) with Sydney, (where the decision is about talking to the local street press.) However, 'It is unequivocally clear that corporate media perpetuates the hegemony of the capitalist state' is not a catchy opening line.

This style of oddly formal, big-word, jargon-heavy writing dominates the zine. Sedition looks excellent, especially the Melbourne print run with the (very anarchist) black-on-black cover. It's clear that the publishers recognise design as a craft: something that's learned and worked on. I think it's true of anarchist publications generally (and I include my own time as a Mutiny editor) that there's less attention paid to the craft of writing. I don't mean that we should create an elitist model in which some people are seen as 'good writers' and other people's work is rejected, or in which we fret over the rules of grammar. It's important that we can all put our ideas and individual experiences forward. But having something to say and saying it in a way that is easily understood and engaging is a skill that can be developed. It takes time and effort to choose words that express a precise meaning rather than using the same standard phrases. It's a responsibility of publishing projects to help writers edit, and to develop writing as a craft that we work on together.

# anarchist & radical publications directory

## WEBSITES

### Anarchy.org.au

Your online source for Anarchy in Australia. They say: 'Anarchy.org.au is an online project by and for anarchists in the Australasian/Oceania region, intended to help anarchists with their own online projects.' Currently administered by the Melbourne Anarchist Club.

### http://disaccords.wordpress.com/

An anarchist news blotter following events in Australia & Indonesia (& other nearby places). They say: 'By choosing to report an incident here, we make no claims as to the (political) motivations of any actors. We just want to amplify the news of incidents that shatter, however briefly, the myth of consensus and social peace, and show that various forms of resistance are possible - are present – here.' Email noisland [at] riseup [dot] net with links & recommendations.

### http://funsomuch.tumblr.com/

Sydney-based posterboard of news, events and callouts for solidarity.

## PUBLICATIONS

### Direct action

*http://www.scribd.com/doc/82859010/Direct-Action-Autumn-2012*

The voice of revolutionary unionism! Direct Action is the publication of the Industrial Workers of the World - Australian Regional Organising Committee.

### Brisbane From Below

*http://brissol.wordpress.com/2011/06/22/from-below-volume-1/*

Paper of Brisbane Solidarity Network. BSN 'are a network of disgruntled workers, out-of-workers and students who organise to contribute towards a non-hierarchical solidarity movement... we advocate anarcho-syndicalist tactics – politicised solidarity unionism without hierarchy.' Visit the BSN website at http://www.solnet.co.nr

### Sedition

*http://anarchy.org.au/sedition/*

Sedition is a mutual collaboration between three geographically disparate Australian anarchist collectives; Melbourne Anarchist Club, the Jura collective from Sydney, and Organise!– the Adelaide anarchist communist group. See review in this issue of Mutiny. Contact: seditionjournal[dot]gmail[dot]com

### The Spectre/El Fantasma

*http://spectrenewsletter.wordpress.com/*

Monthly Newspaper of the International Co-ordination Against Multinational Policies (Observatorio Internacional Contra las Políticas de las Multinacionales). They say: 'Under the constant violence, exploitation and marginalisation imposed by global capitalism, we see building effective means of communication and the production of our own media as one effective means of struggle.'